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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- $A_1$ Removable door posts in upright position
- $A_2$ Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kutaṇa*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- $F_1$ Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- $F_2$ Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*čimpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

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be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jívaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tayamaša*), and the women's (*ekenta*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, $F_2$). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

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sonally from the fruits of the chonta palm (*Guilielma utilis*).

A rough estimate of the average daily beer consumption of the adult male is three to four gallons; of the adult female, approximately one to two gallons; and of nine- to ten-year-old children, about half a gallon. The beer must ferment for four or five days to reach its maximum alcoholic content, but this is usually intentionally done only for feasts planned in advance. On the other hand, a jar or two of beer may reach such strength simply because it has not been consumed, in which case its availability provides an occasion to invite neighbors to come by for a drinking and dancing party.

The division of labor between men and women in agricultural activities is well defined. Women do most of the laborious garden work, being exlusively responsible for planting and harvesting manioc, Araceae species, sweet potato, *papa china*, red pepper, sugar cane, onion, and pineapple. Men and women work together to plant peanuts, but only women harvest them. Men alone plant and harvest maize. They also plant plantain and the "gold" bananas, but let the women do the harvesting. Women have sole responsibility for the arduous and never ending task of weeding. They use the machete as the weeding tool, scraping the earth to cut off all weeds at ground level. This task consumes the greatest amount of their time in the garden.

An idea of the nature of the sexual division of labor and, incidentally, of the importance of manioc beer, may be provided by the following log of a daily subsistence routine.

The husband gets up from his wife's bed at about 2 A.M., goes to the men's end of the house and sits down on a stool. He washes his mouth out with water from a gourd "bottle" at his side. He calls to his wife to "bring beer." She heats up some water and mixes it with manioc beer, and brings a pot of it to him. She

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and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete. When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

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small households over a large area results in a very poor communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that meat is not always abundant in the household, depending on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

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ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out.

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves.

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemă* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemă* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the

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so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampaŋ* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampaŋ* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampaŋ* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampaŋ* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakanī*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and